

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 PEKING 01132 061054Z  
ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02  
SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 CU-02 /070 W  
-----061100Z 081228 /20

R 060820Z JUN 77  
FM USLO PEKING  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7932  
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 1132

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: PINT, CH

SUBJ: PEKING POSTER ATTACKS AUTHORITATIVE PEOPLE'S DAILY ARTICLE AND  
CALLS ON MASSES TO SEIZE THEIR RIGHTS.

REF: PEKING 944

1. SUMMARY: LONG POSTER PUT UP OUTSIDE THE FOREIGN MINISTRY  
ON MAY 4 SHARPLY CRITICIZED A "PEOPLE'S DAILY" ARTICLE  
WHICH HAD ACCUSED THE GANG OF FOUR OF DISTORTING A FAMOUS MAO  
QUOTE USED AGAINST TENG HSIAO-PING. POSTER WRITER, A FORMER  
MILITANT STUDENT FACTION LEADER, URGES THE MASSES TO RISE UP  
AND SEIZE THEIR RIGHTS TO CONTROL THEIR OWN POLITICAL LEADER-  
SHIP. END SUMMARY

2. JAPANESE EMBASSY HAS SUMMARIZED FOR USLO CONTENTS OF  
LONG POSTER PHOTOGRAPHED OUTSIDE FOREIGN MINISTRY MAY 4  
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(REFTEL)

3. POSTER WAS AN EMOTIONAL PERSONAL STATEMENT OF POLITICAL  
PHILOSOPHY WRITTEN BY A HSIEN-LEVEL REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE  
MEMBER NAMED CHOU CHUAN-YING. CHOU  
WROTE THAT HE HAD BEEN ONE OF THE LEADERS OF THE "414"  
FACTION AT CHINGHUA UNIVERSITY DURING THE HEIGHT OF

THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, HAD BEEN DETAINED BRIEFLY IN 1968, LATER FOUND WORK AS A FACTORY TECHNICIAN AND WAS NOT TEMPORARILY MEMBER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMITTEE OF A HSIEN OUTSIDE PEKING.

4. CHOU THEN FIXED HIS ATTENTION ON MARCY 14 PEOPLE'S DAILY FRONT PAGE ARTICLE CONCERNING DISTORTION OF CHAIRMAN MAO'S PRONOUNCEMENT THAT THE BOURGEOISIE "IS RIGHT IN THE PARTY". THE ARTICLE WAS ITSELF A DISTORTION OF THE CHAIRMAN'S THOUGHT, CHOU WROTE. THE THEORETICIANS WHO HAD WRITTEN IT UNDER THE PENNAME "HSIANG CHUN", HAD DEVIATED FROM MAO'S TRUE LINE ON THE CONTINUING REVOLUTION AND ON CAPITALIST ROADERS IN THE PARTY. IF THE KIND OF THINKING THAT THEY REPRESENTED WERE TO WIN OUT IN CHINA, THE COUNTRY WOULD INEXORABLY GO DOWN THE SAME PATH TOWARD REVISIONISM TROD BY THE SOVIET UNION UNDER KHRUSCHEV.

5. MAO'S THEORIES ON THE BOURGEOISIE IN THE PARTY ARE, OF COURSE, CORRECT AND FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES GOVERNING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CCP, CHOU WROTE. IT FOLLOWS FROM THE CHAIRMAN'S PRINCIPLES THAT THERE IS A FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTION BETWEEN PARTY LEADERS AND THE PEOPLE. THE SHAPE OF THIS CONTRADICTION CHANGES DURING THE FOLLOWING FIVE STAGES OF REVOLUTION POSTULATED BY CHOU IN HIS POSTER: 1) ALL POWER IS IN THE HANDS OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP (THE PHRASE UNDERGONE BY THE SOVIETS UNDER STALIN AND THE PRC PRIOR TO THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION); 2) THE MASSES THEN BEGIN TO

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ENJOY SOME RIGHTS, SOME SLIGHT CONTROL OVER THE ACTIVITIES OF THE AUTHORITIES (THIS WAS THE PHASE IN WHICH CHINA FOUND ITSELF IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE GPCR); 3) THERE ARISES REAL SHARING OF POWER BETWEEN THE CADRE AND THE PEOPLE (CHINA IN THIS PERIOD WOULD RESEMBLE THE UNITED STATES IN SPIRIT ALTHOUGH THE ACTUAL WAY IT WOULD BE GOVERNED WOULD BE DIFFERENT); 4) THE PEOPLE WOULD HAVE THE RIGHTS ENJOYED BY THE COMMUNARDS IN PARIS IN 1870; 5) DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LEADERS AND MASSES WOULD DISAPPEAR WITH THE ACHIEVEMENT OF COMMUNISM. THE PRESENT IS THE TIME FOR THE PEOPLE TO STRIVE TO ACHIEVE THE RIGHTS DUE THEM, CHOU WROTE. THE LEADERS WILL NOT SIMPLY GRANT THESE FREEDOMS AND CHECKS ON THEIR AUTHORITY; THE PEOPLE WILL HAVE TO STAND UP AND GRASP THEM.

6. JAPANESE EMBASSY WILL PROVIDE US WITH FULL TEXT OF POSTER WHEN THEY HAVE FINISHED DECIPHERING RATHER INDISTINCT PHOTO.

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
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**TAGS:** PINT, CH  
**To:** STATE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
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